

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 005513
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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
INFO AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 005513

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SF, UNSC

SUBJECT: SWEDISH PROPOSAL FOR UNSC DEBATE ON APARTHEID

REFS: A)STATE 284836; B)USUN 5468; C) STATE 312345

1. BRITISH AND FRENCH EMBASSY OFFICERS MET WITH
DEPARTMENT OFFICERS ON NOVEMBER 26 IN FOLLOW-UP TO
INITIAL DISCUSSION ON SWEDISH PROPOSAL FOR UNSC
DEBATE ON APARTHEID (REF A).

2. FRENCH INDICATED THAT INASMUCH AS POLICY OF
APARTHEID IS SOLELY AN INTERNAL MATTER FOR SOUTH
AFRICA, UN SHOULD NOT TAKE ANY COERCIVE MEASURES
AGAINST SAG. SPECIFICALLY, INTERNAL SITUATION IN
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SOUTH AFRICA CANNOT BE CONSIDERED A THREAT TO
INTERNATIONAL PEACE AS DEFINED UNDER CHAPTER VII OF
CHARTER. PROCEDURALLY, FRENCH HAVE NO OBJECTION TO
PURSUING SWEDISH PROPOSAL BUT ARE OPPOSED TO ANY
"STUDY" OR "INVESTIGATION" OF INVESTMENT IN SOUTH
AFRICA. THE BRITISH ALSO INDICATED THAT LONDON
BELIEVES THAT PRACTICAL RESULTS OF EITHER WORDING

WOULD BE SAME AND ARE, THEREFORE, OPPOSED.

3. ALL SIDES AGREED THAT WITH SC CONSIDERATION OF APARTHEID OCCURRING IN 1977, SWEDISH ROLE IN FUTURE SC ACTION WOULD BE LIMITED DUE TO LOSS OF ITS SEAT ON COUNCIL AT END OF YEAR. HOWEVER, SINCE SWEDES WERE AUTHORS OF PROPOSAL AND THE GA HAS ASKED THE COUNCIL TO CONSIDER THE IDEA, SWEDEN OR OTHERS CAN BE EXPECTED TO PURSUE ISSUE WITH SC MEMBERS.

4. THE THREE SIDES, THEREFORE, AGREED TO RECOMMEND TO THEIR CAPITALS THE FOLLOWING APPROACH:

A) U.S., UK AND FRANCE SHOULD MAKE INFORMAL, SEPARATE EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A MODERATE RESOLUTION (WITH NO MENTION OF CHAPTER VII) ON SWEDISH PROPOSAL ON WHICH WE CAN ALL ABSTAIN.

B) A MODERATE RESOLUTION SHOULD NOT INCLUDE A CALL FOR "STUDY" OR "INVESTIGATION" OF INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

C) IF RESOLUTION CONTAINS REFERENCE TO CHAPTER VII, THERE IS STRONG PROSPECT OF A TRIPLE VETO.

D) AT AN EARLY STAGE, THREE GOVERNMENTS SHOULD DISCUSS ISSUE WITH FRG AND PERHAPS CANADA, BOTH OF WHOM BECOME SC MEMBERS IN JANUARY IN PLACE OF SWEDEN AND ITALY.

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E) UN MISSIONS OF THREE GOVERNMENTS SHOULD PURSUE MATTER ALONG FOREGOING LINES IN NEW YORK.

5. IN RESPONSE TO ABOVE, FRENCH HAVE NOW AGREED WITH ALL POINTS. THEY PREFER TO LIMIT THE APPROACHES TO NEW YORK AND NOT RAISE THE MATTER IN STOCKHOLM.

6. THE BRITISH HAVE, HOWEVER, NOW REJECTED THIS LINE AND HAVE RAISED THE POSSIBILITY OF APPROVING THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT IS ULTRA VIRES AND THEREFORE NOT AN APPROPRIATE MATTER FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL. THEY HAVE OFFERED THE ARGUMENT THAT IT IS EQUALLY OBJECTIONABLE CONSTITUTIONALLY UNDER EITHER CHAPTER VI OR CHAPTER VII OF THE CHARTER. THEY ARE CONSIDERING TWO POSSIBLE ACTIONS,

EITHER VETOING ANY RESOLUTION OFFERING THE ESSENTIAL

ELEMENTS OF THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL OR NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE ACTION OF THE COUNCIL ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE ACTION IS ULTRA VIRES.

7. DEPARTMENT OFFICERS QUESTIONED THE PRACTICALITY OF THE BRITISH APPROACH AND POINTED OUT THAT THE PREVIOUS RESOLUTIONS ON APARTHEID HAD ALREADY USED LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD PLACE THE COUNCIL'S ACTION WITHIN THE REALM OF CHAPTER VI OF THE CHARTER. DEPARTMENT OFFICERS ALSO POINTED OUT THAT THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL HAD BEEN DRAFTED WITH AN EYE TO KEEPING IT WITHIN CHAPTER VI, ACCORDING TO SWEDISH DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS (REFTEL C). BRITISH EMBASSY HAS REPORTED INITIAL REACTION TO LONDON AND HAS REQUESTED FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS.

8. COMMENT: AT PRESENT, IT APPEARS UNLIKELY THAT SC WILL TAKE UP APARTHEID IN JANUARY. HOWEVER, SESSION ON CONFIDENTIAL

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THIS SUBJECT IN FEBRUARY OR MARCH POSSIBLE AND SWEDISH PROPOSAL LIKELY TO RECEIVE SERIOUS CONSIDERATION. DEPARTMENT WOULD WELCOME ADDRESSEE COMMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON TACTICS TO PURSUE AND ON POSSIBLE REASONS FOR UK POSITION. KISSINGER

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